

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
 621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohé, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

621 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
 66 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampitáua that they would
 578 move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.

[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time

[36] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Furthermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
 [224] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
 [226] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
 [352] carry because they are few and light in weight.

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●[627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tamplitúa in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutúa, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tamplitúa, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tamplitúa. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutúa may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tamplitúa. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutúa inhabitants had been in Tamplitúa at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "captain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tamplitúa. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tamplitúa moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964

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Champakwi of the Village of the Tapir

not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some time yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.